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875 2 or 3 measures (18 liters each) of oil, 20 to 25 *mudd* of raisins, and two pounds or thereabouts of butter from each adult man possessing one or more milch cows.

The pupils are supposed to bring money with them on the last day before the vacation; this is for the schoolmaster. Each pupil brings half a dollar at *aid el kebir*, a quarter of a dollar at *aid es sghir*, ten *soldi* (two *grush*) at *'ashor*, and fifteen *soldi* (three *grush*) at *el mulud*. At *haggus* the schoolmaster does not collect any money, but the families of the children send him food consisting of chickens, bowls of honey and butter, and various cooked dishes.

[291 872 During the vacations all the pupils sleep in the village mosque. They wear no jellabas, but dress in clean new shirts girded with Taghzuthi belts of many colors. They go around in a group from house to house in the *bone* and in all the *bones* of the *canton*, and sit in each house to recite a chapter of the Kofan. When they have finished, the mistress of the house gives them eggs, chickens, and other foodstuffs. Later they cook these things in the mosque and feast and disport themselves all night. They play games, and often play at being a council, a sultan and his court, or a judge with plaintiffs and defendants.

875 794 The *fkih* of the cantonal mosque, the "preceptor," [1] is appointed by the council of the great. When he dies, moves, or for some other reason ceases to be preceptor, they appoint another. He may be a stranger or a native of the *canton*. He is paid annually three to four hundred *mudd* of barley, and butter, oil, and other products in proportion. The preceptor has charge of the land belonging to the cantonal mosque and works it with the warden, or hires share-laborers to work it, taking one half the produce and the mosque receiving half. He thus controls a considerable income.

872 574 431 When the pupils of the *bone* have learned the Koran by heart, they graduate and go to the cantonal mosque. Graduation is called *er kheithmith*, and is also frequently termed "the wedding of the sixty *haiseb*," the sections of the Koran. It does not occur at any fixed time of year; whenever the student has fulfilled the requirements to the satisfaction of the preceptor of the cantonal mosque he is admitted. The graduation is accompanied by a feast given in the student's honor, attended by his family, invited guests, and fellow students. His father sacrifices a cow, some meat from which is eaten. *Sekau* and honey are likewise eaten upon this occasion. The guests usually bring gifts with them. Gifts, in the Rif, usually consist of edibles, and especially things which cost money, such as sugar and tea. Candles are also in this category.

● 871 This system of education is widespread, and is found in all the sedentary tribes. Among the nomadic tribes only wealthy men send their children to school, which consists of a special tent occupied by a schoolmaster and moved, when the camp moves, by different men in rotation.

[212 789] In the cantonal mosque the students [2] learn to improve their writing, since many of them fail to learn to write well in the village mosque, where most attention is paid to memorizing the Koran. In the cantonal mosque they also learn magic, studying obscure books and compiling from the Koran and from other sources charts to be used as lexicons in magic.

[1] So translated to distinguish this *fkih* from the schoolmaster, and partly because the preceptor is a religious teacher as well as an educator.

[2] Students who have graduated from the village mosque are called *taleb* (plural *tolba*). Since in the text the pupils attending the village mosque have in every case been specified as such, there is no need for qualification of the word *student* as used in translation of *taleb*.

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One of the principal occupations of the students consists in copying the books of the preceptor, since it is impossible to buy books, and the only way to accumulate a library is to copy it off by hand. In order to get a greater variety of books students often travel from *canton* to *canton* through many tribes.

Some of the books are in Arabic and some in Berber, not necessarily of Riffian dialect. Many are in the dialect of the Sous. Most of the books deal with magic and religious problems, but a few of them deal with history and geography. There are also books written in a numerical code, called *el ughabari*, which the students use as a secret means of communication. There are many different kinds of *el ughabari*, and many different codes, but all are based on numbers. Another system is to use a set word for each letter in the alphabet, and to spell out the message, a word for a letter. This system is used in speech as well as in writing, and has the disadvantage of being very lengthy and tedious. It is called *er unsas*; students use it when they want to say something uncomplimentary about someone present.

Students travel from mosque to mosque in order to absorb the learning of different preceptors who have specialized in different subjects. To obtain what is considered a well-rounded education a student must thus fulfill a considerable itinerary. Some preceptors are popular and draw crowds of students from all over the Rif, others teach the local students only.

Wandering or visiting students are fed by the people of the *canton* in which the mosque is situated. Families send food every day to the mosque. Goats are often sacrificed in cantonal mosques containing saintly remains, and the students and their preceptor take half the meat, giving the warden the other half.

There is no fixed time for the completion of studies in the cantonal mosque. When a student is satisfied with his state of erudition, feels that his share of labor is needed by his family, or wishes to marry, he simply stops going to the mosque and spends his time farming instead. Most students stop when they get married; those who continue after marriage do so with the intention of adopting a professional career. Some prefer the indolent, wandering life of the student to the restrictions imposed upon them by marriage, and roam about, living off the land, until they are old. In most cases the latter type of student goes sooner or later to the Jebala and affiliates himself with some religious brotherhood.

Besides being fed by the *canton* in which they study, the students earn money by tailoring and embroidering jellabas, shirts, trousers, and other garments. Ex-students usually embroider their wives' garments for them. They also earn money by chanting from the Koran at funerals and weddings. They are immune from physical violence, and can pass from tribe to tribe with impunity, no matter what the state of affairs may be, except during those periods when the tribal council fails to meet and all law has gone from the land.

A student who aspires to become a *kadhi*, or "judge," must attend either the mosque of Sidi Bu Daud in Temsaman, that of the Beni Mejrau in Beni Zerwal, the university at Tangier, or the Kairawiin university at Fez. At the Kairawiin the student enters the secular, not the religious, college.

Whichever of these institutions the student attends, he studies law and related subjects until he has qualified himself as a judge and has obtained a certicate to that effect from the head of the institution. Formerly very few Riffians studied in Fez, but in recent years the number has been increasing.

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Riffian students deport themselves more or less in conformity with Riffian ideas of morality and decorum. They enjoy practical joking and general jollification, but do not indulge in the hashish smoking and sodomy practiced by students from the Jebala, who bring with them boys ostensibly serving as musical apprentices. Before European occupation, these western students did not meet with a warm reception in the Rif. They were frequently refused entrance to some districts. In others, so many jokes were played upon them that they left hurriedly and never returned.

On one occasion, Jebalan students entered the mosque in a *canton* of the Gsennaya, leaving outside a mule which they had brought with them. They asked for food, and ate more than was thought necessary by the men who provided it. When they asked for more food, one of the men went outside, cut a slice of meat from the mule's rump, cooked it, and then brought it in. The students ate it. One of them, going outside to feed the mule, found its condition, whereupon the students left immediately, and few of their type have come there since.

Since European occupation, the Riffians have been prevented from excluding the students of the Jebala by such rigorous means. At present many of these undesirables are found in the Rif, to the consternation of the powerless inhabitants, who fear that they will spread their vicious practices among the younger generation.

231 sheep, the shepherd takes his knife and puts it between his teeth; then the jackal will be no more able to bite the sheep than he himself is able to bite the knife (Andjra).

871 [600] Some schoolboy customs may also be mentioned in this connection. In order to learn their lessons more easily or to remember [261] what they have learned the boys eat before breakfast potter's earth [272] (sansal), which is supposed to produce these effects because they are in the habit of rubbing their writing-boards with it, after washing them, to make them white and clean (Tangier, Ait Waryager); or they drink the water with which they have washed the writing-boards, or knock the latter against their foreheads (Fez). The schoolboys sometimes steal the rope with which they are beaten by the fqi and throw it into a well, so as to cool the temper of the fqi as the water cools the rope (Ulad Bu'aziz); but if a boy steals the schoolmaster's whip he will become indocile (Ait Waryager). Schoolboys, however, are up to more [601] serious mischief. If the father or mother of a new-871 born child refuses to pay the schoolmaster money to give them a 754 holiday, they take a cruel revenge. They dig a little grave at the door of the house or at the entrance of the yard and bury in it an egg which they have stolen from the mother, reciting over it a chapter of the Koran as at an ordinary funeral; and it is believed that when the mother walks over the "grave" her child will die and she will ever after have an effusion of blood from her genitals (Andjra). Or the boys go to the entrance of the yard, break there a pen, and make "the reversed fatha" over the pieces with a view to killing the child (Ait Waryager).

789 Children's games are also in various cases supposed to cause events 857 which bear a certain resemblance to them. Sometimes the event is a desirable one. If children are playing with flags "the flag of the Prophet will be erect" — alam n-nbi waqaf, — that is, the Muhammadans will be powerful (Andjra, Ait Waryager). If little boys playfully ride on bamboo canes l-hair maji, "the good is coming" (Andjra), or the year will be good (Ait Waryager); it is the shiny appearance of the cane that accounts for this. In other cases children invite disaster by their plays. If they throw stones at each other there will be fighting (Andjra, Ait Waryager).

787 [603] If an animal or fowl dies at once when its throat is cut the days of its owner are numbered, whereas if it rises on its legs he will

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The ("holy" clan of the) Asht 'Aru 'Aisa are descended from Sidi Musa bin Mshish[163], the brother of one of the "poles" of Western Islam, Sidi 'Abd al-Salam bin Mshish, who is buried in the Jbil 'Alam, in the Bni 'Arus of the Jbala. Sidi Musa is buried among the Khmid(?) (unidentifiable).

The principal idea to be extracted from the foregoing is the following: around a principal nucleus consisting of Asht 'Asim, Imzdurar and Asht Marar[164], clans which are known to and recognized by all the Igzinnayen, there came over the course of time an infinite number of lineages originating from very diverse points of northern Morocco; and these lineages intermingled with the above. Their motives for so doing varied between hunger and war. They were brought to the Rif either because there was no room for them elsewhere or because the possibilities of living well there attracted them.....It is probably necessary to look for their origins in regions which are particularly barren and unproductive, such as the Khuld of Huwwara or the northern part of the Angad Plain, in the case of elements from the Aith Bu Yihyi; the Tafrata for the Ahl Rashida, the clayey hills of Mtalsa, and, in general, all the places more or less bordering the Mulwiya River, which, even if they are by no means paradises, are at least hospitable (sic)[165].

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3) Qur'anic Instruction: --This is organized in exactly the same way as it is among the Rifian tribes in the Spanish Zone, and is largely beyond the control of the Administration....There is usually a school in each village, the fqih of which is paid annually and in kind by its inhabitants. Instruction is carried out almost

794 completely independently of the French authorities, and is done as a
871 rule in areas which generally lack the most elementary conditions of hygiene and sanitation; and pedagogical procedures are very antiquated and inefficacious, and are limited to instruction of the Qur'an....

[872] Almost all the schools are of "primary instruction", and those dedi-
[873] cated to "secondary instruction" are few and far between[166]. Some
[829] students cross the border to study in the Axt Tuzin, Aith Waryaghar
[876] and Thimsaman, not because the schools in those tribes are better, but because the Rifians believe a youth studies better if he is away from his family....The students, or imhadaren, eat the ma'ruf[167], and their teachers generally are given honoraria in kind.

692 4) Judiciary Organization:--There is a qadi in Aknul who serves all of the Igzinnayen, and he holds court every Tuesday, which is market day in Aknul, and once a month in Tizi Usli (market day on Mondays) and in Buridh (market day on Wednesdays)...

312 5) Water Points:--The area which is richest in springs is that
103 of Jibarna, in the Asht r-Udha, in which the following springs are to be found: 'Ain Ta'amt, 'Ain bin Husain, 'Ain Khannus, 'Ain Bu Twilal, 'Ain Rahab, 'Ain Ulad bin 'Amar, and 'Ain Dar Qa'id Midbuh. In the Asht Mhand, there are two large springs in 'Ain 'Allal; and in Asht Marar, there are 'Ain Barda, 'Ain Fargugen, 'Ain Hmid, 'Ain Darduren, 'Ain Marja, and 'Ain Tassa[168].

619 6) Political Situation and Way of Life:--This tribe never
[631] formed part of any confederation, and in spite of the feuds to which we have referred above, it has always maintained its geographical and organizational unity. Today it may be said that there are no ostensible

871 621 793 c) Instruction: The maintenance of expenses relating to education fell and fall, independently of the above, on the members of the jma'th who, in turn, must provide the fqih with his meals, while his contract, as we have seen, depends, on the other hand, on religious property[14].

621 574 651 The gratuitous character of the representative jobs, such as the iziddjifen, and the eternal need to be prepared adequately for distinguished visitors (tribal authorities, personages of political, economic or religious significance, harka-s passing through, etc.) made it mandatory that the expenses incurred through the feeding of visitors (difa or diyafa, or, more commonly in the Rif, muna) be shared equally by the members of the jma'th or that they be levied by the 621 iziddjifen at so much per head. To this end they also used to prepare 241 651 reserves set aside from the harvest reaped in common from the jma'th lands as of that taken in from the leasing of these same lands, funds from which were also applied or set aside for the repair of irrigation ditches or for any other communal need which the jma'th agreed had to [794] be satisfied. Even today this custom continues, and the ziyara donations to members of holy lineages, once the harvest is in, are effected in this fashion, with the crop taken in from a plot of land held for 792 this purpose. Such a plot, in some jma'ath, is usually entrusted to a 794 fqir (member of a religious order) of the jma'th (in question), who must convoke its members to plow and harvest it. For these individuals,

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14--In our own experience, both the meals of the fqih and his annual remuneration in barley depend entirely upon the resources of the members of the jma'th concerned. No doubt, however, if his annual stipend in barley can be integrally extracted from religious land (such as habus), so much the better, and nobody is the loser.